2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

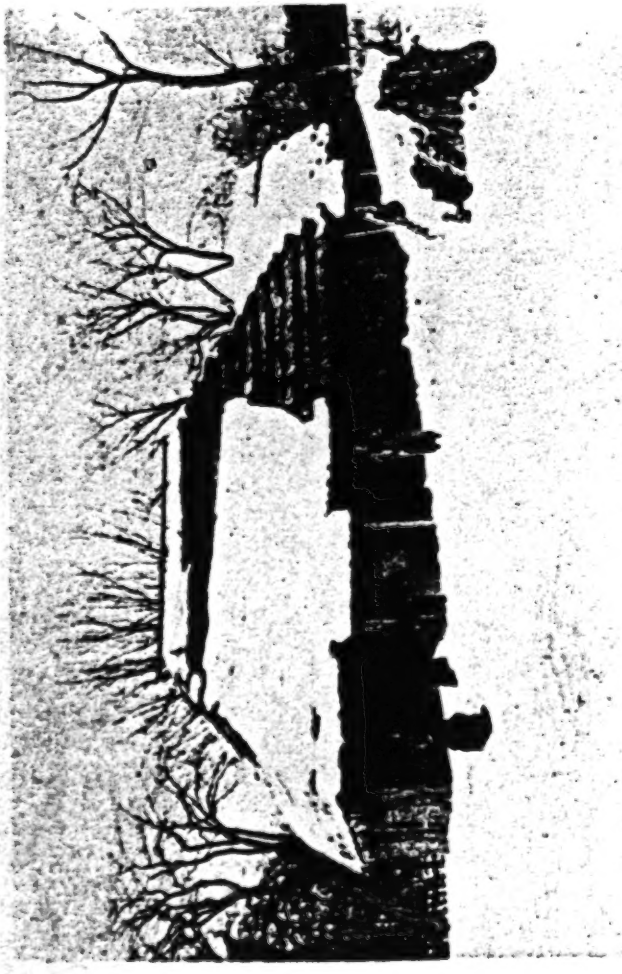
When I came first among them, the people had no large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

●344



OUR OLD HOME BUILT FOR AINU SICK AT SAPPORO

[p.252]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Kurilsky Ainu until quite recently destroyed their huts when migrating from one island to another. They also burnt the huts of deceased persons. It is needless to say that the Ainu have no churches, no hotels, no hospitals, and no public buildings of any kind. The huts in villages are a little way from one another, and each hut has directly in front a separate storehouse, built on piles or posts so as not to be accessible to wolves, dogs, or rats. These are small structures, the architecture of which has the local characteristics of the habitations, with the exception that they are invariably on piles, while the habitations are on the ground. Clothes, furs, mats, and winter provisions of sea-weed are kept in these storehouses, and access to them is by means of a peculiar ladder. It is a mere log of wood, six or seven feet in length, pointed at one end, and with five or six incisions, which serve as steps, and remind me of the steps cut by an ice-axe in a glacier or on frozen snow. Natives go up and down these ladders with ease, even when carrying heavy weights on their heads; and good care is always taken to remove the ladder when leaving the storehouse. Women principally look after these storehouses, and seem to have the whole care and control of them. I have often seen an Ainu girl—for a storehouse could hardly hold more than one—sitting on the tiny door working at her lord and master's *Atzis* robe. Hour after hour I have seen her sitting there, working patiently till the sun has set and the darkness has come. Her materials were then stowed away; the mat at the door was let down; the ladder descended and kicked away; and sadly singing in her soft falsetto voice, she retired into the dirt and dark of her habitation.

The storehouses stand about six feet above the level of the ground, and are generally on four, six, or eight piles. Upon each pile is placed a large square piece of wood turned downwards at the sides, so as not to be accessible to rats and mice. Upon these square pieces of wood rest horizontally four rafters, forming a quadrangle about eight feet square. The small storehouse has as a base this quadrangle, and is seldom high enough to allow of an adult to stand inside.

Storehouses are thatched like all other houses. On

346

346 RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES--description of shrines, temples, churches, libraries, museums, schools, and other religious and educational structures; special characteristics of each; mode of construction; etc. See also:

Administration of schools and colleges 87
Administration of libraries and museums . . . 217
Administration of sacred places 778
Administration and functioning of churches . . 794

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
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moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village." [26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

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No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

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Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807 [29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

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5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . , *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER L

THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me and struck me with the greatest wonder when I visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right.

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in general, he said, "When our young men are gone away to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *saké*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship,

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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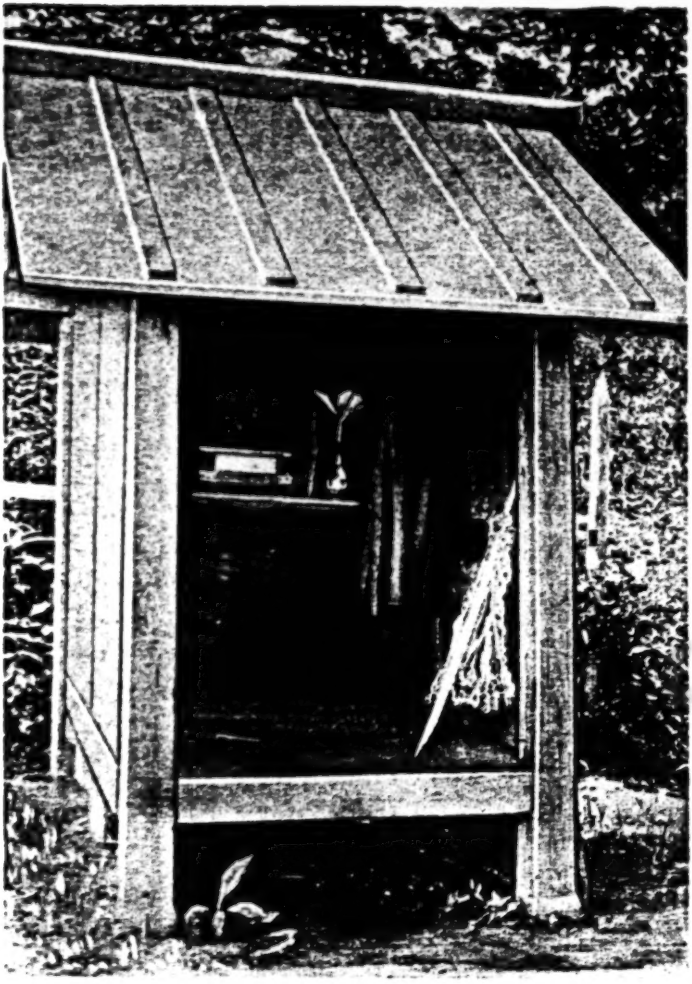

SHRINE OF YOSHITSUNE
(The fetish in front is the only Ainu thing about it.)

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian *régime*, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
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[531]

Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78 (C)]